

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UNGA, AF, UR

SUBJECT: COMPARISON OF AFGHAN AND SOVIET POSITIONS ON
DISARMAMENT

REF: A. KABUL 4760 NOTAL, B. USUN 2316 NOTAL

I. SUMMARY: AFGHAN VIEWS AT UNGA SPECIAL SESSION ON DIS-
ARMAMENT (SSOD) WERE SIMILAR TO VIEWS OF SOVIETS, BUT
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AFGHAN REP ADDED TOPICS NOT MENTIONED IN SOVIET SPEECH
AND OMITTED OTHERS COVERED BY GROMYKO. AFGHAN STATEMENT
CONTAINED CONCILIATORY PARA ON OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY, AS
WELL AS SOME STRIDENT RHETORIC. NEVERTHELESS, ON A NUM-
BER OF DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS VIEWS OF NEW AFGHAN GOVERN-
MENT ARE LARGELY THE SAME AS THOSE PUT FORWARD BY PREVI-
OUS AFGHAN REGIME AT THE 32ND UNGA. END SUMMARY

2. IN HIS JUNE 6 STATEMENT TO THE SSOD AFGHAN REP (AMIN)
DESCRIBED THE MOTIVATIONS FOR THE RECENT COUP AND THEN

GAVE THE FOLLOWING GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW REGIME'S FOREIGN POLICY. BEGIN TEXT. WHILE THE RELATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN WITH NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES IN THE REGION AND THE WORLD ARE BASED ON THEIR TREATMENT OF OUR DEMOCRATIC AND NATIONAL REVOLUTION, THE PEACE-SEEKING FOREIGN POLICY OF

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE BASIC LINES OF OUR REVOLUTIONARY DUTIES, CONSISTS IN THE FOLLOWING: PURSUANCE OF A POLICY OF POSITIVE AND ACTIVE NON-ALIGNMENT, IN INDEPENDENCE AND ON THE BASIS OF PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE; THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS OF GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS, FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION WITH ALL NEIGHBOURS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN; THE CONSOLIDATION, WIDENING AND ALL-ROUND EXPANSION OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH OUR GREAT NORTHERN NEIGHBOUR THE SOVIET UNION; THE EXPANSION OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH INDIA; ENSURING FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN AND IRAN, PAKISTAN AND CHINA; THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ISSUE OF THE PASHTUN AND BALUCH PEOPLE ON THE BASIS OF THEIR OWN WILL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, BY MEANS OF UNDERSTANDING AND PEACEFUL POLITICAL TALKS BETWEEN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN; EFFORTS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF WORLD PEACE AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE IN THE REGION; CAMPAIGNING FOR GENERAL DISARMAMENT AND PARTICULARLY FOR THE PREVENTION OF THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS, THE DISMANTLING OF AGGRESSIVE MILITARY BASES ON FOREIGN SOIL AND THE EXPANSION AND DEEPENING OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE; RESPECT FOR AND OBSERVANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. END TEXT.

3. LAUNCHING INTO THE DISARMAMENT PORTION OF HIS STATEMENT, THE AFGHAN REP INDICATED REGRET THAT "THE POLICY OF NEW SCIENTIFIC AND MILITARY INVENTIONS IS BEING FOLLOWED GREEDILY AND RELENTLESSLY, WITH AN AGGRESSIVE AND WARLIKE ATTITUDE TO THE CREATION AND COMPLETION OF VARIOUS TYPES OF INHUMAN WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION," EVEN THOUGH "THE PEACE-LOVING FORCES OF THE WORLD HAVE EXERTED TIRELESS EFFORTS AGAINST IMPERIALIST REACTIONARIES AND WARMONGERS AND ALSO AGAINST THE ARMS RACE." MENTIONING THE NEED FOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT AND "CONFIRMING THE PEACEFUL PROPOSALS OF MR. ANDREI GROMYKO, FOREIGN MINISTER AND HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND OF OTHERS WHO ARE THE REAL ADVOCATES OF PEACE," AFGHAN REP CALLED FOR THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC MEASURES:

A. END TO PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, REDUCTION OF STOCKPILES, AND EVENTUAL ELIMINATION. AFGHAN REP ADDED THAT "THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES THUS RELEASED MUST BE UTILIZED FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES -- NAMELY, TO ASSIST THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA." (IN CONTRAST, GROMYKO DID NOT AT ALL LINK

THE SAVINGS FROM NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT TO INCREASES IN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, ALTHOUGH HE DID MAKE THE GENERAL CONFIDENTIAL

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REMARK "HOW MUCH FASTER THE PEOPLES WOULD ADVANCE ALONG THE ROAD OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IF THEY WERE NOT SADDLED WITH THE ENORMOUS BURDEN OF HUGE MILITARY EXPENDITURE." HOWEVER, BOTH THE AFGHAN AND SOVIET REPS ALSO ADDRESSED THIS SUBJECT IN CONNECTION WITH THE REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS; SEE PARA 3H BELOW.)

B. REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL MILITARY FORCES IN PARALLEL WITH NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, TOGETHER WITH ENDING THE PRODUCTION OF "ALL CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS HAVING A HIGH DESTRUCTIVE CAPABILITY" AND THE DISSOLUTION OF MILITARY BASES ON FOREIGN SOIL. (GROMYKO DID NOT MENTION THE QUESTION OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES.)

C. MEASURES TO PREVENT ATOMIC WAR: "NUCLEAR COUNTRIES MUST BEAR THE BULK OF THE RESPONSIBILITY" BUT "THOSE COUNTRIES THAT HAVE NOT MADE ANY COMMITMENT MUST ENTER INTO TREATIES WITH THE NUCLEAR COUNTRIES." PRESUMABLY THESE RATHER VAGUE REMARKS PARALLEL GROMYKO'S NUCLEAR SECURITY ASSURANCES DECLARATION AND STATEMENT OF READINESS TO "ENTER INTO AN APPROPRIATE BILATERAL AGREEMENT WITH ANY NON-NUCLEAR STATE."

D. COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN: "A GENERAL AND COMPLETE BAN ON NUCLEAR TESTS." (GROMYKO'S PHRASE WAS "THE COMPLETE AND GENERAL PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR-WEAPON TESTS.")

E. CONSOLIDATION OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME.

F. BAN ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS. (WORDS USED WITH RESPECT TO POINTS D, E, AND F WERE NEUTRAL IN TONE AND ACCEPTABLE TO US.)

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G. BAN ON THE PRODUCTION OF ALL TYPES AND SYSTEMS OF NEW WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, TOGETHER WITH A US-SOVIET AGREEMENT PREVENTING THE PRODUCTION OF NEUTRON WEAPONS. (THIS ITEM IS IDENTICAL TO THE SOVIET PROPOSALS.)

H. REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS: "NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE CONDUCTED ON THIS ISSUE, AND A GRADUAL REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS MUST BEGIN. THE SUMS THUS RELEASED SHOULD BE UTILIZED TO BETTER THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WHO SUFFER FROM POVERTY, SICKNESS, ILLITERACY AND COLONIALISM." (IN COMPARISON, GROMYKO STATED "WE PROPOSE THAT THE STATES HAVING LARGE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POTENTIAL -- AND IN THE FIRST PLACE THE COUNTRIES THAT ARE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL -- SHOULD AGREE TO REDUCE THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS, NOT IN TERMS OF PERCENTAGE POINTS, BUT IN ABSOLUTE FIGURES. OF COURSE, THE IDEA STILL STANDS THAT PART OF THE AMOUNT THUS FREED WOULD BE DIVERTED TO MEET THE NEEDS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES." THE SOVIETS THUS ENVISION DIVERTING PART OF THE SAVINGS TO DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, WHEREAS THE AFGHANS CALL FOR ALL OF IT TO BE THUS APPLIED.)

I. DEMILITARIZATION OF THE SEABED. (THIS PROPOSAL, ALTHOUGH AN OLD SOVIET WARHORSE, WAS NOT MENTIONED BY GROMYKO.)

J. REGIONAL MEASURES: "MILITARY REGIONAL DETENTE MUST BE OBSERVED IN THE NON-NUCLEAR AREAS. ZONES OF PEACE MUST BE CREATED IN THE VARIOUS REGIONS OF THE WORLD. THE RECOGNITION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AS A ZONE OF PEACE, THE WITHDRAWAL OF NUCLEAR VESSELS AND SUBMARINES FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ZONES OF PEACE IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD ARE IN CONFORMITY WITH THE SPIRIT OF THIS IMPORTANT SESSION." (WITHDRAWAL OF NUCLEAR SUBMARINES FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN HAS BEEN A CONFIDENTIAL

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LONG-STANDING SOVIET PROPOSAL, BUT THE USSR HAS NOT PUBLICLY RAISED IT FOR SEVERAL YEARS. WITHDRAWAL OF NUCLEAR SUBMARINES FROM THE INDIAN OCEAN IS AN ASPECT OF THE CURRENT SOVIET POSITION IN THE US-SOVIET TALKS. IN HIS STATEMENT GROMYKO INDICATED THE USSR WILL CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONES IN "VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD"; FURTHER, HE GAVE A CAREFULLY MEASURED BUT SOMEWHAT AMBIGUOUS DESCRIPTION OF THE US-SOVIET TALKS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN: "SO FAR, THE DISCUSSIONS CONCERN 'FREEZING' MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AT THE PRESENT LEVELS. OF COURSE, THIS IS ONLY A BEGINNING. LATER ON WE ARE PREPARED TO SEEK WAYS OF DRASTICALLY REDUCING SUCH ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING THE DISMANTLING OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES. THUS, THE IDEA OF TURNING THE INDIAN OCEAN INTO A ZONE OF PEACE, PUT FORWARD BY LITTORAL STATES AND SUPPORTED BY THE MAJORITY OF UNITED NATIONS MEMBERS, WILL TAKE A MORE DEFINITIVE SHAPE.")

K. CONVENING OF A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

4. THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE DISCUSSED BY GROMYKO BUT WERE NOT MENTIONED BY THE AFGHAN REP: RENUNCIATION OF THE EXPANSION OF ARMIES AND THE BUILDING-UP OF CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND OF THE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE MILITARY AGREEMENTS WITH THEM; A WORLD TREATY ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE; AGREEMENT NOT TO STATION NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THE

TERRITORY OF STATES WHERE THERE ARE NO SUCH WEAPONS AT PRESENT; AGREEMENT ON THE NON-FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; SALT; RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS; MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE-REDUCTION TALKS; US-SOVIET TALKS ON CONVENTIONAL
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ARMS TRANSFERS; DISARMAMENT MACHINERY.

5. ON A NUMBER OF DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS THE VIEWS OF THE PREVIOUS AFGHAN REGIME (AS STATED ON NOVEMBER 3, 1977 AT THE 32ND UNGA) RESEMBLED THOSE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT: GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT IS NEEDED; THE MAIN RESPONSIBILITY FOR DISARMAMENT RESTS WITH THE MAJOR NUCLEAR POWERS; A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN COULD BE OF SIGNIFICANT IMPORTANCE; THE NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES SHOULD "ATTAIN AGREEMENTS FOR THE PROHIBITION OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION OF NEW AND MORE DEVASTATING WEAPONRY AS WELL AS THE DESTRUCTION OF ITS EXISTING STOCKPILES"; THE SSOD SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. THUS THERE IS CONTINUITY AS WELL AS CHANGE.

6. COMMENT: THE DISARMAMENT VIEWS OF THE NEW AFGHAN REGIME FOLLOW THE SOVIET LINE FOR THE MOST PART, BUT THEY ARE ALSO SIMILAR TO THE VIEWS OF A NUMBER OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES -- ESPECIALLY ON THE NEED TO APPLY SAVINGS FROM ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT MEASURES TO INCREASES IN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. CHRISTOPHER

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